/36 cont./

356 [372] But to smell of smoke is an unavoidable thing in their persons, houses, and hammocks, since with considerable truth and not without a certain humor they themselves say that fire is their covering.

78. Indian women are familiar with the broom, tutumai or patá kuimatók, and around the house, for ten meters or more, they are always making by sweeping, pruning, and with shells, a border where generally grow up cotton plants, tobacco, and cucurbitaceous plants and sometimes some red lilies called pareurai.

825 79. It is true that the Indians do not always manage to keep themselves free of common parasites, the origin of which they attribute to vultures, especially the women who have long hair, nor are they free of chigoes, friends of dust and all but impossible to exterminate on dirt floors.

But are not these insects, under the name of woods animals, perhaps still living among us also, giving rise to many commentaries and statements?

825 In addition, chigoes on male children are considered to be an augury of the fact that when they are adult they will be very diligent and hard working, and in female children, that they will be good looking and very sought after.

This is one of the reasons why sometimes the flea-bitten might be considered to be almost elegant.

Anyone who knows country life well will understand the non-problem and the total nonexistence of facilities for the satisfaction of personal physiological necessities.

515 177 80. In corroboration with what has already been set down by the observer of the Kamarakoto Indians, I must state that the Indians who are filthiest in their persons and in their homes are almost always the /37/ semicivilized ones, that is to say, those who neither live in the state of nature nor have assimilated our civilization; they lose what they had and they do not acquire what is ours, except by half measures; for instance, they might have clothing and lack thread and soap, or have shoes and no stockings, etc., etc.

/40 cont./
which I copied a few days ago because of its great similarity to those used by our Indians, in all of the essential elements.

Charms

Charm for when there are many mosquitos. The palm bear /oso palmero/ and the nocturnal bird called masak-yún, which literally means father of the mosquitos, are invoked. "I, I do make that of all the animals the mosquitos should not keep me awake. On this being said, it fanned itself with its immense tail. And it enchanted itself, saying: I am the progenitor of uasunsuk (uasunsuk piá); I am the progenitor of the kochirí (kochirí piá). "With this charm the uoro-uorí, or fan for fanning away mosquitos, is charmed! And this done the plague disappears and one can sleep in peace."

(Written in Pemón by the native Pablo Fierro de Kukenán.)

Charm for working or weaving manare /sieve/. Piaimá is invoked. Although he has a small child, he begins to weave manare; but disease or his evil influence does not reach the child, nor does it turn his neck, nor does it do any other evil to him. He said, chanting to himself: "I, I do weave the fiber of the manare; I, progenitor of pichiuai; I, progenitor of ipó. With this are charmed those who, being fathers of small children, weave objects of basketwork. And with this also are blown upon or charmed children before they begin to work in this."

(Copied in Pemón by the same person.)

Charm for sandals and for face painting. The thunder-lightening, uaranapí, in spite of being the father of a small child, took his kumí, painted his face with striae and went on a trip and the malicious beings did not recognize him, the case being that they were posted to cast the evil eye upon him; he scorned them. He said, making a charm: Here am I, I, progenitor of chichiu. This is the so-called taurón, or

/52 cont./

eyes, speak to him, and hear him." But the Indians, while they do have these beliefs, have great fear of disembodied spirits or orodán, and, rather than invoking them, they try to get them out of their minds; they customarily abandon the places they have lived in and destroy the tools of their dead, avoid giving the same name to their children, avoid formulas that may recall the dead person to mind, and even show displeasure when they find themselves obliged to have to say the name of the dead ones. I often noticed this reluctance when inquiring for a name in order to make notes or records and heard older persons urge the younger ones, saying to them: "Tell him, nothing will happen to you; it is the Father who is asking it of you."

So that the invocation of the dead is only practiced by the piaches, and even this only rarely: it is heard in some stories and it is said of piaches of old.

112. As for omens, not all natural events or occurrences are interpreted as presages, but only a few are traditionally admitted as such. We thus have among others:

a) A spider that hangs down from the ceiling is a warning that some traveler will arrive that day to hang his hammock in our house.

b) The cry of roosters at an unaccustomed hour is a warning that they /others/ are speaking ill of us.

c) A peculiar humming in the ears is the voice of the dead who are calling us and to this they customarily answer "ete-pai pra /53/ edai" (I don't want to go), moving the hand at the same time near the ear like one who is waving away flies.

d) An unusual commotion from the hens, paujies, or hen turkeys, that run around as if they were crazy is a sign of the imminent arrival of persons who are beloved by us.

e) The song of the bird called piká is generally a bad omen, announcing deaths, just as we are accustomed to say about the bittern; sometimes a different song of the same bird is interpreted as a good omen for hunters.

/98 cont./

771 210. If we should allow ourselves to be guided by the afore-mentioned currents among those who study religions among the more primitive races, we would say that these aborigines were "worshipers of the natural forces"; but through intimate knowledge of their ideas, I can only say that they are invokers or conjurers of them.

Although it might be with a certain redundancy, I wish to insist still upon explaining what it is that the Pemón Indians understand by these potorí or piá, which form one of the bases of that suprasensible world, and why they invoke them. I believe that by availing myself of some examples, I shall be able to explain this matter.

•825 789 955 a) The Indians observe, for example, that the wild pig, or váquiro, is not poisoned by eating bitter or poisonous yucca; from this they deduce that the progenitor or first father of the váquiros endowed all of his descendants with a singular force: consequently, when there does occur a chance poisoning due to the ingestion of bitter yucca, they invoke or conjure the piyinké potorí, without thereby believing themselves dependent upon it or inferior to it in other cases.

b) The Indians observe that mice, acures, and other rodents always have hard feces; from this they deduce that their progenitors endowed them with an immunity to intestinal decompositions, diarrhea, etc.: consequently, when they find themselves afflicted with or complaining of these ills, they charm their beverages by invoking the potorí of the afore-mentioned rodents.

825 789 c) The Indians observe that the araguato /American monkey/, despite being a relatively small animal, has a loud voice; thus when they get hoarse or, besides this, whenever they wish to obtain a powerful and sonorous voice, they invoke the father of the araguatos.

789 755 d) The Indians observe that sand and ashes absorb a large quantity of water or any other liquid; thus when they wish to

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194 travelers, or as *d* or *g*. This will be recognizable but is incorrect in that *t* and *k* derive most of their sound from the release of breath when the tongue is removed from the palate, whereas in the Indian sound ' this release is nearly or quite inaudible. *th* is as in English "thin" and *zh* like *z* in "azure." Both sounds are rare and are usually variants of *y*. *y* in general is as in English or Spanish, but it is a peculiarly fluid and protean sound in Carib, even within one dialect, varying from a sound almost *d* to one almost *zh*. It will, however, usually be understood if constantly pronounced as in "yet."

ACCENT.—In Kamarakoto and Taurepán the last syllable is almost always short but carries the stress accent, and this is

[paragraph continues on top of p. 4-B]

MAMMALIA

192 825 197 Animal in general, almost invariably referring to mammals—Kamarakoto *woto*. Taurepán *woto*. Makuchi (Williams) *kamo*. These words usually mean an animal to be hunted and Williams notes the special applicability of *kamo* to deer, an example of the curiously world-wide

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 4-B]

MARSUPIALIA

Opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "rabipelado," *Didelphis marsupialis* and *Metachirus nudicaudatus*, and probably also *Marmosa* spp.—Kamarakoto *abare* (open *b*, nearly *v*). Taurepán *avare*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *yawari-kusinai*, identified as *Philander*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awari*. The Guiana Arawak name, *yawali* (de Goeje), is obviously cognate.

Yapok, water opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "perrito de agua" (but this may also be applied to small otters), *Chironectes minimus*—Kamarakoto *abarepoka*, *maparwa*. These were said to be two names for the same animal, the description of which strongly suggests *Chironectes* as does

[p. 4-A]
[paragraph continues on bottom of p. 4-B]

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194 probably true of most Carib dialects. The penultimate vowel is usually rather long and may be very long, as preceding vowels may also (but very rarely) be. When such vowels are very long, the unstressed length has much the effect on our ears of an accented syllable, our accent being usually a combination of stress and length while these are independent in Carib. In my own transcriptions and when I have been able to recognize them surely in those of others, I represent these superlong vowels by placing a colon after them. Accent will usually be near enough for recognition if these marked long vowels are accented when they occur and the last syllable is accented when they do not.

MAMMALIA

192 transfer between the name of a favorite
● 825 game animal and that of animals in gen-
197 eral. The words are also used secondarily to mean "meat," which is more specifically *woto-pun* in Kamarakoto. The Makuchi word is not typically Carib and may well be borrowed for Tupi.

MARSUPIALIA

the inclusion in *abarepoka* of the root for "opossum," although the equation was not definitely established. There is in the Indian mind as well as in those of most other residents of northern South America confusion between the yapok, various otters, and some other water animals. Makuchi *marparwa* is given by Schomburgk as meaning the larger species of otter, while Williams defines it as a kind of frog. Taurepán *aparowa* is cognate, but it is uncertain whether it means *Chironectes*, an otter, or both. Taurepán *awa:lipoka* is given by Koch-Grünberg as a name for an otter, but obviously equals Kamarakoto *abarepoka*.

[p.4-B]

CHIROPTERA

192 197 825 Bat, Spanish "murciélago," all genera and species—Taurepán *maribĕ'* (given by Koch-Grünberg as *mali:pa'*[1]). Makuchi (Williams) *mara:pa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *leri*. Bakairi (Adam) *meri*. These all contain one root, *leri* = *meri* = *mari* = *mara*, but it undergoes marked transforma-

[paragraph continues at top of p. 5-B]

PRIMATES

Monkey, Spanish "mono," primarily *Cebus apella* but probably including some other forms—Kamarakoto *ibarga*. Taurepán *ibarga*, *iwarka*. My Kamarakoto and Taurepán informants distinguished only two sorts of monkeys, *ibarga*, including *Cebus* and probably any other of the here rare smaller monkeys, and *arauta*, the howler. Williams gives the following list for the Makuchis (the identifications are his):

"*Ateles paniscus*"—*kwa:tĕ*.
"*Cebus* sp."—*karima*.
"*Cebus capucinus*?"—*iwaru:ka* (despite the shift of vowel lengths = *ibarga*).
"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*thari:ki* (this Makuchi *th* = *y* in most other dialects).
"*Pithecia satanas*"—*kuchi:wĕ*.
"Sackawinki"—*ita:ru*.
Unidentified—*kari*.

De Goeje gives the following partly cognate list for Kaliña (identifications de Goeje's):

"*Ateles* sp."—*kwa:ta* (= Makuchi *kwa:tĕ*).
"*Cebus* spp."—*me:ku* (a form of a widespread Carib root, *miko*, etc., for small monkeys).
"*Cebus*, small species"—*akalima* (= Makuchi *karima*).

[paragraph continues at middle of p. 5-B]

XENARTHRA

Three-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Bradypus tridactylus*—Kamarakoto *kwaran*. Taurepán *kuaran*, *kuwaran*. Makuchi (Williams) *kuwaran*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kupiriri*. Williams defines the Makuchi word as *Choloepus*, but Schomburgk gave it for *Bradypus* and was, I think, probably correct. There is great confusion in the

[1] Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán is that spoken south of the Brazilian border and differs slightly but appreciably from the purer Taurepán spoken north of the border around Santa Elena where I recorded my Taurepán vocabulary.

[p. 5-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 5-B]

CHIROPTERA

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tions. No Caribs seem to distinguish different kinds of bats except adjectivally as "large," "small," etc. The Kamarakoto word is remembered as *maripai*", but the written record was mislaid and this is not reliable.

PRIMATES

"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*alihi* (= Makuchi *thari:ki*).
"*Pithecia satanas*?"—not given in Kaliña, *kusi:ri* in the allied languages Trio and Oyana (probably = Makuchi *kuchi:rē*).
"*Pithecia chiropotes*"—*kesyu*.
"*Nyctipithecus*—*kubara*.
"*Hapale jacchus*"—*kusiri* (same as Trio *kusi:ri* although differently identified).

Obviously these two tribes both know and distinguish more monkeys than do the Arekunas. In their area we saw only *Cebus* and *Alouatta* and such other genera as may occur are apparently very rare.

Howling monkey, Venezuelan Spanish "araguato," *Alouatta senicula*—Kamarakoto *arauta*. Taurepán *arauta*. Makuchi (Williams) *arauta*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aluata*. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) *arauata*. The scientific name *Alouatta*, which has priority over the frequently used *Mycetes*, is derived from a French spelling of the Carib word in some dialect in which it was pronounced as in Kaliña. The Venezuelan Spanish name was also derived from the Carib root, but in the form seen in Cumanagoto.

XENARTHRA

European understanding of the native names for this and the following animal, and among the Carib tribes themselves there is little uniformity. I am sure of the Kamarakoto usages, because they were checked against specimens. No tribe fails to distinguish the two genera, although civilized residents seldom separate them.

Two-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Choloepus didactylus*—Kamarakoto *nupi* Taurepán *nupi*. Makuchi (Williams) *tenupi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aipaula*. Williams

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192 identifies *tenupi* simply as "sloth" and
197 gives a Makuchi word, *waiwa*, for a third
825 kind of sloth, but this must, I think, be an error, possibly a confusion with *woiwa*, an anteater, see below.

Giant anteater, Venezuelan Spanish "oso palmero," *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*—Kamarakoto *waremä*. Taurepán *waremä*. Makuchi (Williams) *tama:noiwa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *tamano:a*. Here again there is great confusion between names for the two common anteaters and I can guarantee only the Kamarakoto and Taurepán usages. Words cognate with *waremä* are often recorded as meaning *Tamandua*, not *Myrmecophaga*, and I do not know whether this is a real difference in Indian usage or simply error on the part of the recorders. Similarly words of the general form *tamanua* are sometimes given as applying to *Tamandua* and of course that scientific name is derived from this native root, which is perhaps of Carib origin although it also occurs in Tupi, Arawak, etc., and is practically an international word among South American Indians. It is curious that most authors give the variants of *tamanua* as meaning *Myrmecophaga*, not *Tamandua*, in Carib languages. In Tupi this word applies to both genera. The scientific limitation of the name to *Tamandua* does not follow native usage.

Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero," *Tamandua tetradactyla*—Kamarakoto *woiwo*. Taurepán *woiwo*. Makuchi (Williams) *woiwa*. I could not determine whether the Arekunas know *Cyclopes* or whether they distinguish it from *Tamandua*. De Goeje gives *walili* as Kaliña for *Cyclopes* ("*Myrmecophaga didac-*

[paragraph continues at top of p. 6-B]

Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla," *Sciurus* (*Guerlinguetus*) spp. (those seen were all of the *S. aestuans* group).—Kamarakoto *kari*. Taurepán *kari*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *ksi:pulu*. Trio (de Goeje) *me:ri*. This word is seldom given in vocabularies so that I cannot account for the three decidedly different roots in the languages here cited.

Capybara, Venezuelan Spanish "chi-

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[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 6-B]

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192 *tyla*") but queries it, and apparently cog-
197 nate words in other dialects are usually
defined as *Myrmecophaga*, *Tamandua*, or
● 825 both. This may even be cognate with
Arekuna *waremã* (with a root *ware* which
is a normal Carib transformation of *wali*).

Nine-banded armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cachicamo," *Dasypus novemcinctus*—Kamarakoto *atsi:gamo*. Taurepán *kai'kan*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaikan*. In the recorded vocabularies of other dialects the identifications are so vague or confused that they have little or no value. I have not been able to trace the exact distribution and history of the two very different roots appearing in the distinct Arekuna dialects. The Kamarakoto word appears to be an interesting survival of an otherwise nearly lost Indian word from which the Venezuelan "cachicamo" is derived.

Cabassu, *Cabassous* probably *unicinctus*—Kamarakoto *merun*. Taurepán *mu'ru'*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *mu:ru*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kapasi*. Variants of *kapasi* (*kabasi*, *kapahu*, *kapasu*, etc.) are the most widespread names for this animal in Carib languages, and it seems probable that the French vernacular word on which the prior scientific name was based is derived from a form of this Carib word. At least this is far more likely than Azara's guess that it was a corruption of the Guaraní "*caaigouazou*," "large forest-dweller."

Giant armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cuspa," *Priodontes gigas*[1]—Kamarakoto *mauraima*. Taurepán *mauraimẽ*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *maouraima*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *manulena*.

RODENTIA[2]

güire," *Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus*—Kamarakoto *kapi:ba*. Taurepán *paruena*. Makuchi (Williams) *parawi*. Kaliña (de

[1] Pittier and Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list, but it certainly occurs in southern Venezuela.

[2] Contrary to some statements, it seems certain that lagomorphs occur in Venezuela south of the Orinoco, but perhaps not among the tribes here chiefly considered and I find no Carib word for them. They are unknown to any Arekunas of my acquaintance.

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192 Goeje) *kapia*. Most Carib dialects have
197 variants of the root seen in Kamarakoto
825 and Kaliña and these, in turn, are related to (probably derived from) the "Lingoa geral" (Tupi) *kapivara* from which have come our English vernacular name and one of the several Spanish names for this animal.

Paca, Venezuelan Spanish "lapa," *Cuniculus paca*—Kamarakoto *urana*. Taurepán *ura:na*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pak* (= *pa'?*). The root seen in *urana* occurs (with great variations) in most Carib languages. The root *paka*, which has been borrowed by the Kaliñas, as well as in English and in the technical specific name, is "Lingoa geral" (Tupi). The root *lapa* is Arawak (also used in the English of British Guiana as "labba").

Aguti, Venezuelan Spanish "acure," *Dasyprocta cayanus*—Kamarakoto *akuri*. Taurepán *akuri*. Makuchi (Williams) *aku:ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aku:li*. This word is international among the South American Indians, occurring in practically all Carib dialects as well as in Arawak, Tupi-Guaraní, etc. The Venezuelan Spanish word is from some Carib dialect allied to those cited and the forms with *-t-*, as in English, are probably from Tupi, *akuti*, or a closely allied form.

Guinea-pig, cavy, Venezuelan Spanish "acurite," *Cavia guianae* and *porcellus*—Taurepán *atu*.[1] This animal apparently has a very limited Venezuelan distribution but it is common in the Taurepán country near the Brazilian border.

Spiny rat, Venezuelan Spanish (in the llanos) "casiragua," *Proëchimys cayannensis*—Kamarakoto *urare*. Taurepán *urare'*. Makuchi (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) *urare*. The last word is defined as "*Hesperomys*," which I cannot flatly contradict but which is most improbable since the

[1] Koch-Grünberg defines *atu* as a "rat," but he is mistaken.

[p. 7-A]

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closely allied Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, certainly use the same word only for the spiny rats.

Rats and mice in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many genera and species of Cricetidae—Kamarakoto *mömbē*. Taurepán *mömbē*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *mómbo*. This is the general word used to cover almost all rat- or mouse-like animals, as the English vernacular words are.

Unidentified rats or mice (cricetids?); words given as applying to rat-like animals and probably distinctive of certain limited groups, but not defined by the information available:

Kamarakoto *simuru* ("large rat with a long tail").

Taurepán *pulūya* ("large rat"), *sarikau* ("small rat with large ears and long hair"), (Koch-Grünberg) *waimu'pē* ("rat"—this may be equivalent to *mömbē* and be a Makuchism among the southern Taurepanes). Makuchi (Williams) *waimu* (perhaps a general word, Makuchi equivalent of *mömbē*), (Williams) *pureya*.

Including *mömbē* and *urare*, there are six different roots for "rat" or some particular kind of rat in these three languages. All specimens of this sort collected by us were either *urare* or *mömbē*. It remains for future collectors to fix the meanings of *simuru*, *pulūya* = *pureya*, *sarikau*, and *waimu'pē* = *waimu*.

Porcupine, Spanish "puerco espín," *Coendu prehensilis*—Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *alu*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *muliu*. This animal seems to be very rare in this general region. My informants did not know it and the name is lacking in Williams' large Makuchi vocabulary and in most other Carib vocabularies. Koch-Grünberg obtained the Taurepán word, but notes that the animal is rare. None has been found in this area by collectors.

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Jaguar, Venezuelan Spanish "tigre," *Felis onca*—Kamarakoto *kaigutsă*. Taurepán *kaikusă*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaiku:chi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kaiku:zi*, *kaiku:shi*. Most tribes have an elaborate nomenclature for various kinds of jaguars according to size, color, or fancied resemblance to other animals. Some of these are purely mythical and the rest simply variants of the local race of jaguar. This specialized nomenclature has some ethnological but practically no zoological interest and no attempt is made to give it here. As far as I could judge, it did not suggest real knowledge of more than one natural subspecies or race in each area.

Puma, Venezuelan Spanish "león," *Felis concolor*—Kamarakoto *kutsaribara*. Taurepán *kusariwara*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *soasorana*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kusaliwalan*. In all these and some other Indian languages the puma appears to be named for its supposed resemblance to a deer (*kutsari* in Kamarakoto, see below). The Makuchi word for "puma" curiously contains the Tupi, not the Makuchi, word for this deer. Bates ("Naturalist on the . . . Amazons") supposes the naming of the puma for a deer to arise from the two animals having the same color and Williams adds that he has actually mistaken a puma for a deer. Despite this testimony and without being able to adduce any direct evidence for my suspicion, I do suspect that the original explanation, perhaps now forgotten by the Indians themselves, was different and had to do with their magical beliefs.

Ocelot, Venezuelan Spanish "cunavara, cunaguaro" "tigrito," *Felis pardalis*—Kamarakoto *marakada*. Taurepán *marakada*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maraka:ya*. These words are all related to and perhaps derived from the Tupi-Guaraní word *mbarakadya*, *marakaya*, etc. They possibly include other small cats besides the ocelot.

Fox, savanna fox, Spanish "zorro," *Cerdocyon thous*—Kamarakoto *maikan*. Taurepán *maikan*. Makuchi (Williams) *maikan*.

Bush dog, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de

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monte," "perro grullero," *Icticyon venaticus*[1]—Kamarakoto *yai'* (with a very close *y* almost like English *th*). Taurepán *yai'* (similar *y*).

Domestic dog, Spanish "perro," *Canis familiaris*—Kamarakoto *pero*. Taurepán *arimöraga*. Makuchi (Williams) *arimara:ka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pe:ro*. The Kamarakoto and Kaliña names are, of course, derived from the Spanish but the other two are true Carib and the dog was known to some Caribs before Columbus. Carib names for other domestic animals are all either onomatopoeic or derived from European languages. Many South American Indians call dogs by a name identical with or closely related to that for the jaguar, but these Caribs do not.

Coati, Venezuelan Spanish "zorro guacho," *Nasua* sp.—Kamarakoto *ibarwana*. Taurepán *iwarwana*. It is not quite certain that this is always the coati, strictly speaking, but it is the only word the Kamarakotos know for animals of this sort and probably includes any species of *Nasua sens. lat.* and perhaps other procyonids, if any occur in their region.

On the other hand, the Taurepanes not only have this word but at least two others: *araiwa'*, "something like a fox, with a black head, and climbs trees," and *koazhi*, "like an *araiwa'* but does not climb trees." I could not equate these with actual specimens. The second is a form of the widespread root preserved in our English "coati," a root derived from or spread through the Tupi language. The Arawak root *kibihi* (and variants) is also used for the coati in some Carib languages (e.g., Akawai).

Otter, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de agua," "nutria," *Lutra*, probably mostly *L. brasiliensis*—Kamarakoto *saro*. Taurepán *saro'*. Makuchi (Williams) *tura:ra*, (White in Beebe's "Tropical Wild Life in British Guiana") *saro*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awalibuya*. There is little or no doubt that the *saro* is *Lutra brasiliensis*, but the

[1] Pittier and Tate note that this dog probably occurs in Venezuela. It is now known definitely to occur in that country, in Venezuelan Guayana north of the Brazilian border. The only recorded specimen was taken alive in the Tirika valley by our companions on this expedition.

192 records of native nomenclature of the otters are otherwise very confusing. See *Chironectes*, above. Besides *saro*, Koch-Grünberg gives four other Taurepán names for otters: *asa:len*, *kara:saiyana*, *kali'nakon*, and *jili:ligon* (with variants of

[paragraph continues at top of p. 9-B]

SIRENIA

Manatee, Spanish "manatí," *Trichechus inunguis*—Kaliña (de Goeje) *yalawa*, *kayumoru*. Makuchi (Appun) *koimuru*. Chayma (de Goeje) *kuyumuri*. The Arawak word is also *kuyumulu*, *kuyumoru*, etc. The Kamarakotos and Taurepanes apparently do not know the animal.

There has been much discussion of the derivation of the word "manatee" (beyond the fact that it is the Spanish "manatí"). West African origin has been suggested but now generally discarded in favor of West Indian origin, probably Carib. This is given in all the dictionaries that I have consulted and apparently is accepted by all zoologists. The usual etymology is to derive it from a Carib word *manatui*, or a similar form, and this is occasionally (e.g., Century Dictionary) said to mean "big beaver."[1]

Some of the oldest vocabularies of West Indian Carib do give *manatui* (or an analogous spelling) as the name of this animal. This is further evidence that the

[paragraph continues at upper part of p. 9-B]

PERISSODACTYLA

Tapir, Venezuelan Spanish "danta," *Tapirus terrestris*—Kamarakoto *maikuri*. Taurepán, *waira*. Makuchi (Williams) *waira*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maipura*, *maipuri*. Both these roots are widespread in

[paragraph continues on lower part of p. 9-B]

ARTIODACTYLA

Savanna deer, Spanish "venado," *Odocoileus* probably *gymnotis*—Kamarakoto *waikin*. Taurepán *waikin*. Makuchi (Williams) *waikin*.

Red brocket, *Mazama americana*—

[1] Although it is not explained why the Caribs should describe a familiar animal in terms of one they probably never saw.

[p. 9-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 9-B]

Kariarakoto
Taurepan

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each). My Taurepán informants did not know any of these words, and I suspect that they are mythical animals or color variants and not natural forms distinct from the *saro*.

SIRENIA

early travelers believed this to be a Carib word, but it is not proof that it really was such. As far as I can learn, in surviving dialects on which there is reliable information the manatee is never designated by any word remotely resembling *manatus* or *manati*. There is, however, an indubitable Carib word that is obviously this, or closely related to this: Arekuna *manati*, Makuchi (Williams) *manatĕ*, Galibi (Adam) *manate*, Akawai (Adam) *manadu*, etc. This word means, not "manatee," but "(a woman's) breast." Since the most striking character of the manatee to most observers, primitive and otherwise, is the human appearance of the mammae, it is a reasonable conclusion that this is really the origin of the name. It is not known, and probably is not now knowable, whether the Island Caribs themselves extended the word and used it as a name for the animal or whether they used it only descriptively and it was mistaken by Europeans for a name.

PERISSODACTYLA

Carib. In some dialects *waira* is liable to confusion with a word of indelicate meaning and this has perhaps influenced the use of the other word for "tapir."

ARTIODACTYLA

Kamarakoto *kutsari*. Taurepán, *kusa:ri*, *usa:ri*. Makuchi (Williams) *usa:ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje, questionably given as "*Cervus nemorivagus*") *kusali*.

Gray brocket, wood deer, *Mazama nemorivaga*—Taurepán *kariyaukĕ*. Makuchi (Williams) *kariyauku*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kariaku*. My Kamarakoto informants

[p. 9-B]

Kamarakoto

Taurepan

192 did not name this animal, although it
197 occurs in their region and is doubtless
825 known to some of them.

Collared peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "chácharo," *Tayassu tajacu*—Kamarakoto *pakira*. Taurepán *pakira*. Makuchi (Williams) *paraka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pakira*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *vakira*. This root, which also occurs as a loan in some Tupi dialects, has given us our word "peccary." It is peculiar that it has also given rise to the colloquial Spanish "báquiro," through Cumanagoto or an allied Carib dialect, but that this name was transposed by the colonists from this animal, to which it belongs, to the other peccary which has a different Carib name. The

[paragraph continues on top of p. 10-B]

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[p. 10-A]

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 10-B]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941

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Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192 Makuchi form is an unusual example of
197 metathesis, *paraka* for *pakara*.

825 White-lipped peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "báquiro," *Tayassu pecari*—Kamarakoto *po-inga*, *poyinga*. Taurepán *pō-inga*, *piyingē*. Makuchi (Williams) *po-inga*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pi:ndya* (final vowel rounded). Koch-Grünberg has a word *tekenoma* (pronounced *tōkōnomē* by my Taurepán informant and *tauka:namo* in Kamarakoto) which he lists as if it were a separate, third species of peccary, but its real meaning is "a particularly bad or dangerous wild animal, especially a large and ferocious *po-inga*," as explained to me by Indians of both these tribes.

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[p. 10-B]

4:Armellada M-5 (no date) 1960
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VENEZUELA

THE KAMAINO (OMENS) OF THE PEMON INDIANS

The following article is by the Capuchin missionary Fray Cesáreo de Armellada who forms part of the Mission to which the Venezuelan government has entrusted the care of various Indian groups of the states of Zulia and Bolivar. The author has dedicated himself to the compilation and study of the "oral literature" of the *Pemon* Indians since 1931. Various of his works have been published previously in this *Boletin*.

In studying the mentality of these *Pemón* Indians, we come up against this word *Kamainó* which literally means "he who or that which means", and which in use is equivalent to our "oracle" and "omen". For them, our futures are present times which keep approaching until they are before our eyes; but sharp-sighted eyes or an oracle can go forward to meet them like a bird, who soaring at a certain altitude sees coming what we yet cannot see.

The spirit liberated from the body during a dream (according to their belief) and the *piache* when he is in a trance and also free from the bodily enclosure through the use of vegetable drugs, are the great *kamainó* or oracles. And dreams should be considered as the commonest omens or predictions. Dreams are always interpreted on the basis of similarity, which is the great principle and the great error of these Indians: to think that the similar has an effect upon the similar (e. g., a leaf shaped like a deer's ear, into the deer); that the name and the image are the thing named or represented not only in language or in art, but also in the field of chance; that sickness of one member of the family will necessarilly and physiologically have a repercussion on all of the relatives, etc.

Here we limit our study to certain natural occurrences which many times we have heard the *Pemón* Indians interpret as omens or warnings of things that are going to happen. I have always asked, how can a spider know this, how can a chicken know more than we do. And the answer were always the same: "truly it is strange, but so it is".

The principal *kamainó*, heard interpreted as omens by the Indians during the years of our stay among them, are:

[R72 contains no English TEXT--Analyst]

Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
3. Streams and rivers		
Aicha	Aichá	Haicha[61]
Yuruan	Yuruán	Urullén[62]
Akanan	Akanán	Acanan
Karoni	Karoní, or Caroní[63]	Caroni
Karao	Karáo	Carrao[64]
Kuana	Kuaná	Uana
Kapin	Kapín	_____
4. Regions, sabanas		
Kamara-ta	Kamarata	Camarata[65]
Akanamüin-ta	Akanamüin-ta	_____
Uruyen-ta.i	Uruyén-tai	_____
Yuruan-ta.i	Yuruán-tai	_____
Chikoroka-ta.i	Chikoroká-tai	_____
Kumba-ta.i	Kumbá-tai	_____
Taba-munen-ta.i[66]	Tabá-munén-tai	_____

Animals.

a. Mammals.

268. Animal in general, usually referring to mammals — woto. The word is also used to mean the meat of a mammal, properly woto-pun.

269. Opossum, local Spanish "rabipelado" ("bare-tail"), Didelphis and Metachirus sp. (possibly also Philander and Marmosa) — abare (open b, nearly w). Taurepán, aware. Makuchi (Schomburgk) jawarri-cusinai (i.e. yabari-kusinai), "D. philander" (i.e. Philander sp.) Kalina (de Goeje) awari. Oyana (de Goeje) awalemõ. [Arawak (de Goeje) yawali].

270.-271. Yapok, water opossum, local Spanish "perrito de agua" ("little water-dog" but this is also applied to small otters). Chironectes ?minimus - abarepoka, maparwa. These were said to be two names for the same animal, which was not seen but the description of which suggests Chironectes. The definition is uncertain, however, and these words may [illegible] rather to an otter. In Makuchi, Schomburgk defines maparua (= maparwa) as the larger

61-66 [see footnotes on pp. 313-14, category 116 - Analysis]

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●825

species of fish-otter, but Williams gives it as a kind of frog. Taurepán aparōwa seems to be the same word but here too, it is uncertain whether the water opossum or an otter is meant. Koch-Grünberg also gives awa:lipoka in Taurepán and calls it a fish-otter.

272. Bat, Spanish "murcielago," all genera and species — Kamarakoto record lost.[67] Taurepán, mariba, given by Koch-Grünberg as mali:pa. He also gives Ku]ɛdnan mali:pa as "vampyre," but, as he notes, this means "large bat" and it is description, not nomenclature. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) ma:lupa'. Makuchi, (Williams) marapa.

273. Monkey, Spanish "mono," mainly Cebus spp., some others probably included — ibarga. Taurepán ibarga. (Koch-Grünberg) iwa:leka. My informants distinguished only two monkeys, this and the following, and probably included a variety of small monkeys under this name. Other tribes, as shown especially by Williams and by de Goeje, distinguish five or ten kinds of monkeys, and it is possible that there are Kamarakotos who know other names for particular sorts of small monkeys.

274. Howling monkey, local Spanish "araguato," Alouatta sp. — arauta. Taurepán, arauta. Makuchi (Williams) a-rau-ta. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) arahuata (i.e. arawata). Kalina, and others, (de Goeje) aluata. The same root appears in various non-Carib languages, but apparently by borrowing from the Carib. This word, in some form like the Cumanagoto, is the origin of the local Spanish name, and, in some form like the Kaliña, of the scientific name.

275. Three-toed sloth, local Spanish "pereza," Bradypus tridactylus. — kwaran. Taurepán, kuaran, kuwaran. Makuchi (Williams) ku-wa-ran, defined as Choloepus, but with the note that Schomburgk defined it as Bradypus. There has been much confusion in the European use of these native names, but there is no question that the Kamarakotos use the names as here given, and it is likely that these are the correct Carib usages in general.

276. Two-toed sloth, local Spanish "pereza," Choloepus didactylus, — nupi. Taurepán, nupi. Makuchi (Williams) te-nu-pi.

277. Great anteater, local Spanish "oso palmero" ("palm bear"), Myrmecophaga tridactyla, — waremɛ. Taurepán, waremɛ. Makuchi (Williams) ta-ma-no-wa. Variants of this latter root occur in several Carib dialects but

67 [see footnote on p. 314, category 116-Analyst]

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probably are borrowed from Tupi (or "Lingoa geral") tamandua.[68] There is some confusion in the linguistic literature between this and the next species, but the Kamarakotos and Taurepánes certainly apply wareme only to Myrmecophaga.[69]

278. Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero" ("ant bear"), Tamandua tetradactyla. — woiwo. Taurepán, woiwo. Makuchi (Williams) woi-wa.[70] This may apply also to Cyclopes, which we did not see and which the Indians did not recognize from descriptions but which must occur in this region.

279. Nine-banded armadillo, local Spanish "cachicamo," Dasypus novemcinctus. — atsi:gamo. Taurepán, kai'kan. Makuchi (Williams) kai-kan. Kaikan, etc., is obviously the central Carib word and the Kamarakoto atsi:gamo is cognate with the colloquial Spanish "cachicamo." Rather than supposing that the Kamarakoto borrowed from the Venezuelan Spanish, it is necessary to conclude that "cachicamo" came from some Indian dialect, probably now extinct, and that atsi:gamo is independently borrowed from the same or an allied dialect without passing through a Spanish form. Its antepenult long i is phonetically peculiar.

280. Cabassou, (local Spanish not recorded). Cabassous, probably C. unicinctus. — merun. Taurepán, mu'ru'. Kaliña (de Goeje) kapasi. Outside of this immediate group of dialects, variants of kapasi (kapachi, kapahi, etc.) seem to be generally used in Carib. The scientific name is probably derived from a variant of this word.[71]

281. Giant armadillo, local Spanish "cuspa," Priodontes gigas[72] — mauraima. Taurepán, mauraimę. Kaliña (de Goeje) manulena.

282. Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla, ardillita," Sciurus spp. (Those seen were S. aestuans), — kari. Taurepán, Kari. This may be an Arawak word, for that language has (de Goeje) kalio, while the Carib languages, Trio & Oyana, use a different root (de Goeje) meri, meli, and Kalina a third root (de Goeje) Ksi:pulu, but the data are poor as the word is given in few vocabularies.

283. Capybara, local Spanish "chigüire," Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus, — kapi:ba. Taurepán, paruena. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) paulina. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kapi:wa. Makuchi

68–72 [see footnotes on pp 314-15, category 116 – Analyst]

(Williams) pa-ra-wi. These two quite distinct roots are capriciously distributed among these allied languages. That seen in Kamarakoto, although widespread among Carib tribes, is probably derived from (or through) the Tupi kapivara, from which come our English name and one of the several Spanish names for the animal.

284. Paca, local Spanish "lapa," Coelogenys paca, — urana. Taurepán, ura:na. Makuchi (Williams) u-ra-na.

285. Agouti, local Spanish "acure," Dasyprocta spp., — akuri. Taurepán, akuri. Makuchi (Williams) a-ku-ri. This word is practically international among South American Indians and occurs in various forms in Arawak, Tupi, and other groups as well as in most Carib dialects. The local Spanish name probably came through the Carib and the English name through some Brazilian language, perhaps Tupi (akuti).

286. Guinea pig, cavy, local Spanish "acurite," Cavia sp., — not recorded in Kamarakoto and perhaps absent from this area. Taurepán, atu. (Koch-Grünberg defines atu as "rat," but it is a cavy).

287. Spiny rat, local Spanish "casiragua,"[73] Echimys and Proechimys spp., — urare. Taurepán, urare?. Hübner (in Koch-Grünberg) gave urare as the Makuchi word for "Hesperomys." This is probably an error on the part of Hübner or Koch-Grünberg, for the Taurepánes, so near geographically and linguistically to the Makuchis, certainly confine the name to members of the very different Echimys group.

288. Unidentified rat — simuru. Said to be a large rat with a long tail, but no specimens were procured. Taurepán informants did not recognize the word.

289. Rats, mice, in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many different genera and species, — mömbə. Taurepán, mömbə. The Kamarakotos use this word for most small rat-like rodents in a very general sense. My Taurepán informants seemed to use it a little more definitely and to confine it to cricetids of small to moderate size, but this is not certain.

290. Jaguar, local Spanish "tigre" ("tiger"), Felis onca, — kaigutsɛ. Taurepán, kaikusɛ. Makuchi (Williams) kai-ku-chi. This is a nearly universal Carib word. The Taurepánes have a fairly elaborate nomenclature for jaguars with various real or mythical color and other differences but

73 [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 - Analysis]

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undoubtedly, as far as real, they are all mere individual variations.

291. Puma, local Spanish "león" ("lion") Felis concolor, — kutsaribara. Taurepán, kusariwara. Kaliña (de Goeje) kusaliwalan.

292. Ocelot, local Spanish "cunavara," "tigrito," Felis pardalis, — marakada. Taurepán, marakada. Kaliña (de Goeje), marakaya.

293. Fox, Spanish "zorro," probably Cerdocyon thous, — maikan. Taurepán, maikan. Makuchi (Williams) mai-kan, "Canis cancrivorous." The animal was not taken and the identification is uncertain.

294. Bush-dog, Icticyon sp. — yaiˀ (y very close, almost daiˀ). Taurepán, yaiˀ (or daiˀ).

295. Dog, Spanish "perro" — pero. Taurepán, arimõraga. The Taurepán word is native Carib and appears in various guises in most dialects but the Kamarakotos use their version of the Spanish word.[74]

296. Coati, local Spanish "zorro guacho" ("lone fox"), Nasua (sens. cat.) sp. — ibarwana. Taurepán, iwarwana. This identification is uncertain. The animal is probably not the coati, strictly speaking, but probably is a procyonid of that general sort.

297. Otter, local Spanish "perro de agua" ("water-dog"), "nutria," Lutra sp., — saro. Taurepán, saroˀ. (See also No. 270.)

298. Tapir, local Spanish "danta," Tapirus americanus, — maikuri. Taurepán, waira, waila. Makuchi (Williams) wai-ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) waila. Kaliña (de Goeje) maipuri. Both roots appear to be Carib but this is a case in which the Kamarakoto word is not shared by any of the more closely allied tribes.

299. Savannah deer, Spanish "venado" Odocoileus sp. (probably gymnotis), — waikin. Taurepán, waikin. Makuchi (Williams) wai-kin.

300. Brocket, (local Spanish not recorded; Spanish-speaking Indians called it "venado de monte," "wood deer"), Mazama americana, — kutsari. Taurepán, kusa:ri, usa:ri. Makuchi (Williams) u-sa-ri. Kalina (de Goeje) kusali.

301. Collared peccary, local Spanish "chácharo," Tayassu tajacu, — pakira. Taurepán, pakira. Makuchi, pa-ra-ka. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) paki:la, Cumanagoto (Adam) vaquira (i.e. bakira). Kaliña (de Goeje) pakira. Note the interesting metathesis in the Makuchi form of this

74 [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 — Analyst]

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word. This is the Carib root from which the English "peccary" and the Venezuelan "báquiro" are derived, although the latter has been wrongly transferred to the next species.

302. Peccary, local Spanish "báquiro," Tayassu albirostris. — poi.nga, poyinga. Taurepán, piyingə, po.inga. Makuchi (Williams) po-in-ga (po.inga). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) poyinge. Kalíña (de Goeje) pi:ndya.

303. Peccary, Tayassu albirostris, poetic word — po.i:nimo, poyini. These appear in songs and magic chants but are not used in everyday speech.

[533]

304. Wild beast, savage peccary — tauka:namo, taka:naimo. Taurepán, tōkōnomə. The Kamarakoto word was recorded only in songs and may be a magic or poetic word, although not specifically stated to be such. It was explained as meaning a wild or dangerous beast in general, or a savage peccary in particular. A Taurepán similarly told me that it was not a definite sort of animal but was a word applied to a peccary (piyinga) that is particularly large and fierce.[75]

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305. Domestic pig, local Spanish "cochino," "marrano" — kochino. The Kamarakotos have no pigs but one was once brought in and its Spanish name is remembered. (The goat, sheep, cow, donkey, and horse have never been introduced and no words for them can be said to exist in this dialect.)

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b. Birds. Our party included no ornithologist and the bird names casually gathered were for the most part identified only by local Spanish vernacular names. In some cases the information given by Koch-Grünberg and Williams for related dialects will help to place the birds, although it must be remembered that the tribes sometimes apply cognate words to different things. Many of the bird names appear to be onomatopoeic.

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306. Bird (in general) — toron.

307. Egg (in general, also fish and reptile eggs) — (i)moi.

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(a) Birds commonly eaten.

308. "Pava" = Penelope sp. — okira. Taurepán — wo'ra. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) okela. Akawai (de Goeje) okura. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) woki:la. The peculiar interval stop, ', in the Taurepán word apparently is a vestige of the former syllable ki, ke, or ku.

75 [see footnote on p.315, category 116 - Analyst]

309. "Pava," smaller variety — paraka.
310. "Guacharaca" — karmaiba.
311. *Dove — wakuwa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) waku:wa, "dove"
312. *Paují — pabiˀ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) pawiˀ, "Hokko (Crax sp.)." Makuchi (Williams) pau-wi, "Crested curassow, Crax nigra."
313. "Poncha" — tsurima.
314. *"Gallineta" — marui. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ma:luˀ, "Inambu, partridge." Makuchi (Williams) ma-ru, "Great tinamou, Tinamus major."
315. "Zorro" (bird) — oroi:bo.
316. "Perdiz" — kuruiˀ.
317. *"Grulla" — namai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) namai, "Psophia crepitans."
318. *Bird resembling a "pava" with red eyes — kota. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kotɛˀ, "curicaca" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
319. *"Piapoca," *toucan with white breast — kuyapo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kuyawe, "Toucan with red-black bill" (same as Kamarakoto word?).
320. *"Piapoca," toucan with red breast — kõrma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) Kõ:lema, "small toucan."
321. *Smaller toucan with yellow breast with transverse black stripe — parpari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg), palupali, "very small toucan."
322. Toucan similar to the last but very small — kamata.
323. *Domestic fowl — kõroitoko. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tsupara, kalicho. Northern Gran Sabana (on authority of the Kamarakotos) Karibana, supara.[76] Makuchi (Koch-Grünberg) in Nordenskiöld, galiwana, dzuˀpala (= tsupara). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) galijo (j as in English). Purakotó (Koch-Grünberg) kalaka. Akawai (Schomburgk) kariwina.[77] "Carib" (a coastal group) of Venezuela (Tavera-Acosta) Koroktoko. Kaliña (de Goeje) Korotoko.

Nordenskiöld (1922) has mapped and discussed South American Indian names for the domestic fowl in considerable detail, although he devotes least attention to the northeastern region. The great variety of names in this area, differing even in neighboring and closely allied tribes, is curious and suggests that the history was considerably more complex than a single and rapid spread from one center of introduction. It is particularly interesting that the Kamarakoto word is entirely unlike any recorded for other Arekunas or any nearby tribes, but it is like that of the more distant coastal groups like the Kaliña, as if they had received fowls not from their neighbors but directly from the coast. The

76, 77 [see footnotes on p. 345, category 116 - Analyst]

*197 word is clearly onomatopoeic, but not so obvious that it is likely that so close
● 825 a resemblance arose by chance. Compare the also fairly widespread but quite different onomatopoeic word karaka, kalaka, etc. It is also very curious and confusing in this connection that the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg) call the owl (not fowl) koro:toiko, which is certainly very near the Kamarakoto word for "fowl." Unfortunately, (being unaware of its possible importance) I failed to record the Kamarakoto word for "owl."

Of the other names that appear in this region, kariwana and its many variants are supposed by Nordenskiöld to come from "gallina," which seems probable although a little uncertain. Supara, etc., may be related to "Lingoa geral" sapukaya, zapugala, etc., and suggests introduction from Brazil. The tribes that have it are, in fact, near and in trade relations with Brazilian tribes. It is curious that several of these tribes also use different names of probable Spanish (northern Venezuelan ?) origin as if two streams of diffusion met here. Variants of the root stem in Taurepán kalicho have a very spotty known distribution: Only in Taurepán, Oyana, Pianacoto, and Ingarikó (all Carib dialects). I can offer no suggestion as to the origin of this word, possible connection with "gallo" or with the kalaka groups of words being too speculative for serious consideration.

[[93]] The Kamarakotos differentiate hens and roosters, if need be, by suffixing wari?, "female," and warato, "male," to kõroitoko.

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(b) Birds not usually eaten.

324. Vulture — kurun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurun, "white-headed vulture."

325. *Small green parrot — kaikai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikai, "periquito." Makuchi (Williams) kai-kai, "Hahn's macaw, Ara hahni (or perhaps Conurus nobilis)."

326. *Another, smaller parrot — kũrikũri. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kilikili, "very small periquito." Makuchi (Williams) ki-ri-ki-ri, "all-green parrot, Brotogeris tirica."

327. *Large parrot with red feathers — wadara (quite distinct from wadaura). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) waya:ta (y sibilant), "red arara." Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-ra, "scarlet macaw, Ara macao."

328. "Moriche" (bird) — wadaura. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wadaura (d fricative), "black nightingale." (This is not a nightingale but a bird resembling the troupial and sometimes mistaken for it.)

329. *Hummingbird — tukui?. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukui, "hummingbird."

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330. *"Chupacacao" — kadau-kadau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kodo:kodo, "anu-like bird."
331. *"Ancoreta" — oimi. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) woimeʾ, "anu, black, like the European magpie in form and color."
332. Unidentified small bird (in the legend of Maichaʾ) — kurinata.
333. *"Guardacamino" — tabaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tawalu, "uacuraua, night-swallow." Makuchi (Williams, citing Chubb) tawara, *Podager nacunda, the Nacunda nighthawk."

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825 c. Reptiles.

334. *Snake (in general) — okõi. Taurepán, õkõi.
335. Tiger-snake — paraurata.
336. Boa — aura.
337. Rattlesnake — tsakasaʾ.

Other snakes (not seen or identified) —

338. pararaipu.
339. saroraima, poisonous, (probably the bushmaster or an allied species).
340. kamaritse.
341. kamaitaparu.
342. *Wood tortoise — adamori. Taurepán, wadamori.
343. Sabana tortoise — karume.
344. *Water turtle, probably the matamata — pei. Taurepán, pi-tura.

Lizards:

345. Spiny rock-lizard — enwaraʾ.
346. Large edible lizard, "iguana" — ayamaka.
347. "Mato" — waim tsa.
348. "Mato de agua" — sɛrɛbai.
349. Doubtful, perhaps another name for, or a variety of, the "mato de agua" — ari-kapa.
350. Common house-lizard — okopiʾ.
351. *Caiman, or Yacare, local Spanish "baba" — aka:re. Taurepán, akare, (Koch-Grünberg) yaka:re. This is a Tupi, or "Lingoa geral" word that has been adopted in most Carib dialects as well as most European languages.

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352. *Crocodile, local Spanish "caimán"[78] — kura:tu. Taurepán, kuratu.

d. Amphibians.

353. Frog — waroma. Taurepán, waroʾma.
354. Toad — põlɛ:a (the last vowel very short and not stressed, could be written põlɛa). Taurepán, põreu-tukuʾ.

78 [see footnote on p. 315, category 116 — Analyst]

e. Fishes.

355. Fish (in general) — moroˀ.

The following are names of favorite food fishes. None was well identified.

356. aimara. — (also called "aimara" in local Spanish). Probably Macrodon (or Erythrinus) sp.

357. uruːyi. — Interpreted as "rayado." a large striped fish. Perhaps Platystoma sp.

358. warako. — Interpreted as "boquina."

359. warapa. — Interpreted as "agua dulce" (as a name — the Indian word does not mean "fresh-water"). Probably the "pirarucu" of Brazil, Arapaima sp.

360. kəpauri. — Interpreted as "sardina." Apparently applied to a number of very small fishes.

361. Caribe, piranha — tsipiraiˀ.

362. Unidentified fish — wararo (wararo-yeupu = "wararo bones," used of a style of bead-work and wararo said to be a fish, not the warako).

f. Invertebrates.

363. Edible larvae: white larva found in the Oenocarpus palm — tsiyaˀ.

364. big yellow larva found in the Mauritius palm — iwo.

365. *Ant — atsimikə. (So recorded and said to be ants in general, but probably for atsi-mikə, a particular kind of ant.) Taurepán, mikə. Makuchi (Hübner quoted by Koch-Grünberg) mika. Trio (de Goeje) moikõ. Oyana (de Goeje) musikõ. Williams questions whether this is a Carib word and notes the resemblance to Spanish and Portuguese "hormiga," "formiga." I have no doubt that it is pure Carib and that this resemblance, such as it is, is quite fortuitous.

366. *Bachaco (large, plump, ant-like insect) — kaibaˀ, kaiba-yun (yun = "father"). Taurepán, kaibaˀ, kaibaˀ-yunkun. These words may be related to kaiba, kaiwa, kaiwao, etc., "fat" in some Carib dialects, although I did not record this meaning in Kamarakoto or Taurepán.

367. *Fly — berbɛˀ. Taurepán, weruwe, werwe.

368. *Gnat — nung . Taurepán, nung .

369. *Mosquito — matsaˀ. Taurepán, masaˀ.

370. *Termite — munaˀ. Taurepán, muna, merwa.

371. *Dragonfly — pirəmo, pirəmo. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) piːlumoˀ.

372. *Butterfly — abakaparu. Taurepán, wakau, (Koch-Grünberg)

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awa:kepalu, "Morpho." Makuchi (Williams) pa-pi-ai, (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) wakan. Crichana (de Goeje) wakaparo. Koch-Grünberg suggests for awa:kepalu (= aba:keparu, cf. Kamarakoto abakaparu) derivation from awa-, "to row (paddle)" and -paru, "river." This seems farfetched, to say the least. Abaka-, wakau, awa:ke-, wakan, waka-, etc., seem all to be forms of a single Carib root for "butterfly," combined with -paru, -palu, paro, and other suffixes in various dialects.

373. *Bee — tautsan-yun. Taurepán, wan-yun. Makuchi (Williams) wan-yun-gon. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan (same word as for "honey"). Oyana (de Goeje) tuwashinem. Both tautsan-yun and wan-yun mean "honey's father." In many dialects the same word is used for "bee" as for "honey." The usual Carib root is wan and aside from Kamarakoto I find cognates of tautsan only in Ingarikó and, doubtfully, Oyana.

374. *Honey — tautsan-yeuku, (literally "honey-juice"). Taurepán, wan. Makuchi (Williams) wan. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan. See remarks on preceding word.

375. Beeswax — moromba.

376. Tick — karimatɛ?.

377. Tick, another kind — kananapan.

378. Chigger, "chivacca" — timi'.

379. *Spider — arai. Taurepán, arai.

Plants.

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a. Cultivated (or planted).

380. *Garden patch, "conuco" — (u)ma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mə:. Makuchi (Williams) mə. Akawai (de Goeje) (oo)ma. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) (u)mə.

381. Garden produce, fruits and vegetables — yapaino.

382. *Cassava (the plant, manioc = Manihot sp., yuca in local Spanish) — Kõsɛra. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kese (= kɛsɛ, see next word). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se-ra.

383. *Cassava root (the edible tuber) — kõsɛ. Taurepán, kɛsɛ (same word as for the plant). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se.

384. Ocumo (local Spanish name; = Xanthosoma sagittifolium) — naipai.

385. *Yam (Dioscorea sp.) — piricha. Taurepán, kəlũcha, (Koch-Grünberg) pilizha. Makuchi (Williams) gə-ri-cha. These are all variants of the same word. They show (besides

Kanaima.

754 The concept of kanaima, common to practically all Caribs with some [171] variations in nomenclature, is a difficult one to grasp. Despite their apparent- [124] ly complete willingness to do so, the Kamarakotos did not suceed in giving me [114] any clear-cut definition of a kanaima, and this appears to have been the experience of every investigator whose interest was more than superficial and who did not jump to the conclusion that one aspect of kanaima was a complete description (almost all the literature has been summarized by Roth, and Koch-Grünberg adds interesting observations from the Taurepánes). Clearly the concept is to the Indians themselves very complex and rather vague. The basic fact is that a kanaima is hostile as such (i.e. is not a kanaima with respect to a person to whom he is not hostile) and that by supematural means he causes almost every sort of illness and almost all deaths.

A kanaima may be a real person but he does not cause injury by physical but only by magical means and his enmity is usually secret. The Kamarakotos deny that any members of their tribe are kanaimaton, although doubtless they [648] may be such from the point of view of other tribes. Some Maquiritares are kanaimaton to the Kamarakotos and wild or bad Indians, naturally of hostile or at least foreign tribes, are generally believed to be such.

In this aspect, the activities of a kanaima are typical of human witchcraft. The Kamarakotos deny that there are, or at least that they are acquainted with, any particular spells or magical devices that are used in order to cause harm, but such a denial is inevitable since confession of such knowledge would be dangerously near confession that its possessor is a kanaima. Rather vague re- [171] ports suggest that such devices are known in other tribes. Thus a Taurepán told Koch-Grünberg that certain Makuchi kanaimaton placed the spit of their enemies in a tube of bamboo and used this in a magic spell to cause death, which finds [551] exact analogies in European witchcraft. It is highly probable also that the re- [123] fusal to reveal real names is based, at least in part, on belief that they can be used magically to harm the possessor, and the excessive caution of the Indians toward us in this respect hints that they were not quite sure that we were not kanaimaton.

● [825] Some kanaimaton are animals, or animals that may appear as men, or men that may appear as animals. Here the concept falls into the world-wide wer-animal complex, but even in such a case the harm done is not, as usual with werewolves and the like, physical but only supernatural.

754 There is no sharp distinction between a kanaima that is a real person and 776 one that is not. A kanaima that is believed to be a real person may not be such in fact. Thus the Kamarakotos believe that there are flesh-and-blood Indians in nearby forests who are kanaimaton, but these probably exist only in the Kamarakoto imagination. Other kanaimaton, although they appear, if at

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto [152] version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be 539 sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe 823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).* He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human 825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction [171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos [551] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should 776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

* [see p 2628, category 116 - Analysis]

103 59. This may be my Waikimba but the latter was said to be on the lower Akanán, whereas Tate shows his Guarimba on the Carrao near the Akanán. I did not visit the place and my information may be faulty.

103 115 194 60. Probably not a Kamarakoto name, as no (other) Kamarakoto word ends in r and the person who lives there and who gave me the name comes nearer than anyone else in the tribe to speaking fluent Spanish. The accent is unnecessary in Spanish, but it is better to insert it in cartographic transcription.

103 194 61. h presumed to be silent, as in Spanish. The river has also been called Hacha, from confusion with the Spanish word, which really has nothing to do with this name.

103 114 62. I do not know whether Tate has confused Yuruán with Uruyén or whether he has intentionally given a new name to the stream from the name of the inhabited place, Uruyén, opposite its mouth. The Indians never call it Uruyén.

103 [104] [114] 63. This great river is already so widely known and mapped as the Caroní that it would probably be quixotic to insist on Karoni at this late date. Father Baltasar de Matallana says of this name, "Los Kamarakotos, que habitan más abajo lo llaman Karoní, quizá por ser la Serranía Karún la montana dominante en su margen izquierda." Elsewhere he gives two alternative suggestions, that the name may come from "Karó," said to be the father of animals and fishes in Kamarakoto mythology, or from "Karói," a kind of very scaly fish.

For what it is worth, I may add that several Kamarakotos, with whom I discussed this question, professed not to know either a mythological Karo or a fish Karói. I do note that Karói is applied to the electric eel in related dialects and the word may well occur in Kamarakoto although unknown to these individuals. [825] No Kamarakoto knows the names of all the fishes any more than any of us do in our own languages. However that may be, my informants agreed that Karoni is from Karo, "grasp," and that it is so called because canoes on the river are grasped and overturned (by the water or supposedly by evil spirits). Of course this could be folk-etymology, since the name is so old that it is unlikely that any authentic legend of its origin survives. Moreover, it is really unlikely that the name was given to it by the Kamarakotos.

These Indians added the peculiar statement that Karoni is not the real name of the river but only a sort of nickname and that it should be called Yurwani. This (or Yuruaní) is the name of one of the two main headwater streams of the Karoní, the other being the Kukenán, and if I follow the thought of the Kamarakotos here, it is that the upper Karoní is merely the continuation

103 of the Yuruaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Yuruaní.

103 104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

103 114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepúi, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

103 823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Yuruán-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Yuruaní; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikoroká-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripai?, which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

825 114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Baltasar gives "uareme' = Tamandua" and "noino = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tennpi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

825 114 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "caaigouasou," "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives p elo, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than T. albirostris), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to kanaima (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto katsupara means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' karibana, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

824 241 197 114 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like napi and cha' (or chak), which in Kamarakoto are napwei, a Dioscorea, and (i)cha', Ipomea. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of both words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the napi words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to Dioscorea, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to Ipomea or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

273 574 177. Of course all individuals spend intervals sleeping, but some are awake and hilarious at all times.

533 539 178. This is a free and not a literal rendering. The language of these songs, despite the fact that they can include some improvisation, is not common speech but is "poetic," probably archaic, and is not entirely clear even to all the Indians. The translation given conveys the sense of the words as they understand them.

[195] 179. In prose language the equivalent would be some expression like autsimbe dai?, "I am satisfied, pleased."

535 171 180. The Makuchi song given by Roth refers to the white clay paint, which was evidently essential to the dance in its more primitive or more stereotyped form, but in all the Kamarakoto dances such psendo-ritualistic compulsions have become voluntary and are often omitted — this is true even of the parichara-pon.

524 153 181. A boy at Uruyén made a remarkably good small model of an airplane, including workable wheels and a propeller that turned in the wind. I could not learn that he received any help or inspiration from more sophisticated sources and he maintained that the work was entirely his own idea and execution, but I find this almost incredible and cannot record it as a fact.

773 182. But as will be seen, this legend or myth is composite and consists of several quite distinct stories united by assigning the leading role to the same character.

773 115 126 128 183. It is interesting, as illustrative of his own comprehension and insistence on the value of complete accuracy, that Antonio himself demanded this procedure and refused to leave a passage until convinced of my thorough comprehension of it.

539 184. This is adopted as the best non-technical transcription of the name maicha?.

[415] 185. A small gourd vessel, wai in Kamarakoto.

[825] 186. The kind called atsi:gamo, the Venezuelan "cachicamo."

[534] 187. maraka, a gourd rattle with a wooden handle.

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[825] 188. The large kind called po. inga.

189. His death has nothing to do with the story — one of several such parenthetical statements that add circumstantial detail for no apparent reason.

190. Tangŏi?.

191. Pangai?.

[462] 192. The making of the press and sieve of basketwork is man's work, assigned to Maichak. The making of the casave itself is woman's work.

193. "Tirita" = manare.

[241] 194. Casave plant, kŏsra.

[482] [171] 195. akai?. The use by Maichak of a sort of back-pack now used almost exclusively by women among the Kamarakotos is peculiar, and it is noteworthy that the akai? is used by men among allied tribes.

[241] 196. The kind called polopakai?.

[825] 197. A "chupacacao," kadau-kadau in Kamarakoto. The species of the two preceding birds was not mentioned.

[126] [192] 198. In using "king" and "queen," I follow Antonio's Spanish, "rey" and "reina." It should be "princess," since the king's daughter is meant, and the Indian words are, of course, better rendered as "chief" and "chief's daughter," but it seemed better to follow my main source, Antonio's Spanish version, as exactly as possible.

199. As the event proved, it was not the king, but the story is here told from Maichak's point of view.

200. See note 198, above.

[551] 201. The queen's name is nowhere given and my informants did not know it. The giving of any personal names is contrary to the practice of daily life.

[584] [583] 202. The previous relationship was irregular, since the bride's parents were not consulted. Now her father's consent is sought to regularize the

[539] [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. muna^{9}.

[825] 210. A kuriñata.

[825] 211. An enwara^{9}, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwara^{9} (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceiba," asarɛ-yɛ^{9}. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangai^{9}. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 [848] 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Regarding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly